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Origin and History of the Colored People

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A

TEXT BOOK

OF THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY, &c. &c.

OF THE

COLORED PEOPLE.

BY JAMES W. C. PENNINGTON.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE author of the forthcoming chapters, has aimed to state facts, points, and arguments, simply, rather than to go extensively into them. It is for this reason that he calls his work A TEXT BOOK. The book is offered to families, and to students and lecturers in history. It is an humble attempt so to direct these, as to unembarrass the origin, and to show the relative position of the colored people in the different periods among the different nations. How far he has succeeded he must rely upon the candid to say.

The writer has attempted to do what he has long desired to see performed by some abler pen; and so far as he has failed, he hopes yet to see the subject explored, and full justice done to it by some one more competent. And this hope is animated by the importance of the subject as connected with a right state of feeling on the total subject of HUMAN RIGHTS.

CHAP. I.

THE VEXED AND VEXING QUESTION.

In order to have my readers start with me, I must start with the question, who and whence are the colored people?

Every close observer must have seen that we suffer much from the want of a collocation of historical facts so arranged as to present a just view of our origin.

We live in a period rising unto six thousand years from that in which Jehovah spake and caused this earth with its appurtenances to come into being.

In recurring to the truly wonderful and blessed Creator's own account of that stupendous work, we find that of all the creatures that received life from him at the creation, there were but two human.

In relation to these we are told that he made them in *his own image*—that he made them male and female, and he destined them to propagate their kind.

As to their degree of knowledge and personal peculiarities, nothing is explicitly said, and nothing is known but what can be inferred from the importation of words and names.

With this, then, as the root of all true history of the human family, we find ourselves at this remote distance, in point of time, from the moment of the creation, constituting a part of the vast race of the original two, and one of the most peculiar of the classes into which *the race* is divided.

The curious have long been clamoring for the causes of the diversity of the human species.

I am sure that no reverential mind would enter upon a historical research to gratify the curious; but the subject has a merit independently of the wishes of the curious.

Prejudices are to be uprooted, false views

are to be corrected, and truth must be unveiled and permitted to walk forth with her olive branch.

I have met with not a few colored persons who held historical views as prejudicial to the truth in our case as the whites do.

In 1838 while making arrangements to lecture on this subject, I met with a very respectable colored brother, who expressed great doubts as to the propriety of opening the case at all.

"What, then," said I, "shall we shun the light?" Said he, "I am afraid the light will show us to disadvantage!" "No, no," said I, "my dear sir, light is life, and truth; therefore let us read, search, and hear, that we may have it just as it emanates from God, on this as on all other subjects."

But, I recur to the question: Who and whence are the colored people?

I. Negatively, I answer. 1st. We are not the seed of Cain as the stupid say. It is indeed a stupid saying, and I confess it

would be stupid to attempt a reply, were it not for the real fact that it is trumpeted about by bar-room and porter-house orators, with as much gravity as a judge charges a jury who are to decide in a case of life and death; and received with as much complacency as if an oracle had spoken truth infallible. And this saying is circulated by its framers without once recurring to the fact—the school boy's text-book fact, that Cain lived before the deluge, that all his posterity were swallowed up!

The posterity of Adam, leaving out both Cain and Abel, begins at Seth; thence to Enos, Cainan, Mahaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, to Noah, the preacher of righteousness. Noah was the ninth from Adam, and his was a *covenant* family. When those eight souls entered into the ark they left the posterity of Cain to perish in the flood! Gen. vii. 21—23.

How, then, can Cain have any posterity this side of the deluge? How could we have inherited his mark and curse? The supposition is false and absurd.

2d. We are not the descendants of Canaan, the youngest son of Ham, as some say. This theory is far more plausible than the former, but not a particle more truth is there in it.

The human family was not only dispersed from Babel, but it was also *divided* into sections. These sections had respect to the original sons of Noah. From the drying up of the waters of the deluge to the building of Babel, mankind spoke one language and had one combined, selfish interest, as they rioted on eastward,

We are not to suppose that when their language was confused, every individual of that vast multitude spoke a different language, as that no two understood each other. The object in dispersing them was to have them settle in different parts of the globe, in suitable numbers for mutual protection and comfort; hence, we may infer that they still found inducement to this even in their divided state.

As there is no dispute about the fact that

we came from Noah through Ham, I shall call the first division from him.

I. DIVISION.

Sons of Ham.

1. Cush.
2. Misraim.
3. Phut.
4. Canaan.

These are Ham's sons, probably born before the dispersion, and hence, that went forth from Babel at that crisis.

II. DIVISION.

Sons of Cush.

1. Nimrod.
2. Havilah.
3. Sabtah.
4. Raamah.
5. Seba.
6. Sabtecha.

These are Ham's grand-sons; and here is where we take leave of Canaan. We came from Noah through Ham, and from Ham through Cush, and from Cush through these six. For,

First. Nimrod settled at Babylon. "And the beginning of his kingdom was Erech, Accad and Calneh in the land of Shinar." Gen. x. 10.

Second. Havilah settled south of Babylon. His was the land of spices. 1 Sam. xv. 7.

Third. Sabtah joined Havilah on the south and lay on the Persian gulf. Perrine's Bib. Geography.

Fourth. Raamah's land lay south of Sabtah on the Persian gulf. Per. Bib. Geog.

These are the progenitors of the Asiatic Cushites, or Ethiopians. And their entire land "was bounded east by the eastern branch of the Euphrates and the Persian gulf, south by Arabia, or the Arabian sea, west by the Red Sea and Egypt, and north

by Canaan and Syria. Per. Bib. Geog. p. 67, 68.

II. Affirmatively, I answer, *We are properly the sons of Cush and Misraim amalgamated.*

1. Sabtecha the remaining son of Ham crossed the Red Sea simultaneously with the settling of his brethren in Asia, and settled in Africa. Per. Bib. Geog. p. 72.

2. Josephus says, Anti. book I. chap. 6. sect. 2. "Of the four sons of Ham time has not at all hurt the name of *Cush;* for the Ethiopians over whom he reigned are even at this day, both by themselves and by all men in Asia called Cushites."

3. In the Bible, *Cush*, *Ethiopia*, and *black* are synonymous names. "And as Cush in Hebrew means black, so the Greeks have named Cush, Ethiopia, from *aitho* black, and *ops* face. Cush in our English Bible is rendered Ethiopia." Per. Bib. Geog. p. 67.

Thus I have aimed to state the arguments clearly, rather than to make them

lengthy. The depravity of the human heart is often seen in men's fondness for theory to justify their sins.

In the case under consideration, a class of men have gained the high reputation of attempting gravely to theorise themselves into the right to oppress, and to hate and abuse their fellow men!

Those theorists are ministers and professors of the faith of the Son of God. They have not only thus desecrated their holy profession, but they have taken a part of God's word and construed it into a commission to shed the innocent blood of his creatures. Noah cursed his grand son Canaan, and this *dooms* the black man to slavery, and *constitutes* the white man the slaveholder! Astounding! Why, then, is Nero called a tyrant? Is not the appellation applied to him in too great haste? May not the import of his name have given him the right to set his foot upon the neck of the Roman people?

I lay no claim to criticism, but I will

venture to offer some views on the passage relating to Canaan.

"And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

"And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.

"God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27.

This is the mooted passage. This is claimed to be the divinely sanctioned ordinance by which the Africans are given to the American slaveholder for chattels and things!

I have shown that the Africans are *not Canaanites;* and therefore admitting that the passage is correctly construed by them, then it follows that they have mistaken their game. They must discharge the Africans, compensate them for false enslavement, and go and get *Canaanites.* But, as I have no wish to shuffle the question so as

to throw *chances* against the rights of any class of human beings, I remark on the passage.

1st. *There is no evidence that Noah's curse was intended to extend to the posterity of Canaan.*

Both the noun and the pronoun is used in the singular number with reference to him, and although in the twenty-fifth verse the noun of the plural number brethren, is used, yet in the next verses they are individualised by the use of both nouns and pronouns in the singular. It is admitted to be the usage of the Bible, sometimes, when a man's posterity are intended, to use his name as a noun in the singular; but then the connection will, generally, be found to explain the intention.

That this curse was intended to reach Canaan's posterity, is generally, inferred from the fact that the land which they inhabited was given to the Israelites. But this is not clear. The very fact of their possessing themselves of that land, may

have been the reason why they were doomed. God, with whom *process of time* is no consideration, appropriated that land before the Canaanites set their heels on it, and doubtless his providences forbid them claiming it. Their sin may have consisted in a disregard to these.

2d. *There was no intention to curse Ham personally.*

1. His name is not used. If there was any intention to reach him, there can be no reason why his name was not used.

2. Ham had just been blessed along with his father and brothers, when they came forth from the ark, and there is no divine precedent to warrant the supposition that a curse should be pronounced upon him.

3d. There was no intention to involve the first three sons of Ham in this malediction. Proof,

1. The careful omission of their names.

2. The explicit use of Canaan's name.

4th. Then the supposition that there was any intention to involve the posterity of

any one of the first three sons, I claim to be absurd.

5th. There is, finally, no evidence that the words of Noah contained a divine malediction on Canaan himself.

1. The fact that Patriarchal cursing and blessing was frequent in after ages is no evidence that Noah had power to curse his own grandson.

2. Recurring to the proclamation of God, (Ezek. xviii. 20,) I infer that men should be well advised what they are about ere they make God contradict himself. "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son."

Now, here is a divinely authoritative absolution over which the authors of the theory I am combatting must break. But the church and the theology of our age is so full of the horrid spirit of imputation, *immediate* and absolute, that one would think it quite likely that all the rebels in the world would catch the infection, and at the judg-

ment day impute righteousness, *absolutely* and immediately to themselves, and dispute the just judgment of God.

3. Is the spirit of wine the spirit of God? "And Noah awoke from his *wine*. Gen. ix. 24.

4. Do the sudden effusions of man's anger control the administrations of the great God?

CHAP. II.

My purpose is now to take a brief view of the descendants of Cush through the medium of history. Profane, or human history must be valued mainly, in proportion as it has the coincidence of sacred history. In the first period of profane history we have only mist and uncertainty. The facts which we find sufficiently attested to rest our judgment on, are few and far between. Of the ages before the deluge, we know nothing but what the Bible teaches. And as for the first sixteen hundred years after the deluge, there were no regular governments, there were consequently no authentic records.

The annals of the four universal empires are the four great hinges on which the chart of authentic history hangs. The

second Babylonish empire which answers to the first universal, begins 747 years before the Christian Æra.

This empire ends with the taking of Babylon by Cyrus 538. And this is the Medo Persian, or second universal empire.

The Medo Persian empire ends at the battle of Arbela, when Darius is conquered by Alexander the Great, Oct. 2d, B. C. 331. This begins the Macedonian empire, or the third universal.

The battle of Actium, Sept. 2d, B. C. 31, begins the Roman empire.

The developments in the annals of those four empires are, in the main, authentic, because, in general, they have the coincidence of the Sacred Scriptures. These are the four grand theatres on which Divine Providence has controled a wonderful series of events for his own glory. The sovereigns and subjects of those empires have been seen, as so many agents, acting over scenes of importance from their connection with the redemption system. The

sacred writers have been directed to give minutes of those scenes, in a general way, and hence the manifest importance of this coincidence. But,

1. The first thing to be enquired into now, is the relation of Egypt to Ethiopia. It is beyond all dispute certain that Misraim settled Egypt, as it is also that Cush settled Ethiopia, and that these settlements were made contemporaneously.

The first generations of Egyptians and Ethiopians, then, were cousins. They were brother's children.

2. During the first three hundred years, or during the reigns of Menes and the Shepard kings in Egypt, the Egyptians and the Ethiopians or Cushites lived as cotemporaries.

3. So far as Nimrod was progenitor of the first generation of Babylonians, (and he was to some extent,) these were evidently related to the Cushites in Africa, since Nimrod was a Cushite.

4. About eighteen hundred years before

the Christian Æra, Babylon, Egypt, and Ethiopia begin to mingle in conquest. See notice of Nimrod's son Ninus and his Queen. Robbins' Ancient History, Period II.

5. The Egyptians and Ethiopians are confederated in the same government, and soon became the same people in politics, literature and peculiarities. As evidence of this down to the time of Herodotus, eighteen out of three hundred Egyptian sovereigns, were Ethiopians. Hero. book II. chap. 100.

6. From the above single fact the conclusion is clear that the two nations were equals in the arts and sciences for which Egypt is admitted on all hands to have been so renowned.

7. We have still further evidence in the case of Sabachus mentioned by Herodotus, book II. chap. 137. He became master of Egypt, and after reigning over it fifty years abdicated the throne and returned into his own country. He is called So, 2d

Kings, xvii. 4. Now this man must have been highly skilled in the science of government and war, to have conquered the Egyptians and to have reigned fifty years.

8. Again when Cambyses of Persia had made himself master of Egypt, about five hundred years before the Christian æra, he made also an attempt on the interior Ethiopians. These he found to be equal to the Egyptians in refinement, and superior in power. Her. III. book.

In order to facilitate his designs, Cambyses sent spies with presents to the Ethiopian monarch on pretence of being desirous of making a treaty of alliance with him. I will here insert the twenty-first chapter from Herodotus' third book in which he gives the address of the spies together with the monarch's reply.

Spies. "Cambyses, sovereign of Persia, from his anxious desire of becoming your friend and ally, has sent us to communicate with you, and to desire your acceptance of these presents, from the use

of which he himself derives the greatest pleasure."

Here is a short address, but replete with sophistry, art, and conspiracy. But let us see how the monarch receives it. His reply:

"The king of Persia has not sent you with these presents, from any desire of obtaining my alliance; neither do you speak the truth, who, to facilitate the unjust designs of your master, are come to examine the state of my dominions; if he were influenced by principles of integrity, he would be satisfied with his own, and not covet the possessions of another; nor would he attempt to reduce those to servitude from whom he has received no injury. Give him, therefore, this bow, and in my name speak thus to him: The king of Ethiopia sends this *counsel* to the king of Persia—when his subjects shall be able to bend this bow with the same ease that I do, then, with a *superiority* of numbers he may *venture* to attack the Macrobian Ethiopians.

In the mean time let him be thankful to the gods, that the Ethiopians have not been inspired with the same ambitious views of extending their possessions."

The interview, or convention continues through the 22d, 23d, and 24th chapters, but this will suffice at present.

It will be pertinent to remark here, that the Ethiopian monarch manifested great presence of mind, skill in detecting sophistry, boldness in repelling conspiracy, and magnanimity in permitting those wretches to go in peace who went to him with the bribe.

On the return of those spies to Cambyses, with the counsel of the Ethiopian, he was greatly exasperated, and well for him had he taken that counsel and been satisfied. But in the twenty-fifth chapter, we have an account of his mad attempt to march his army against the Macrobian Ethiopians. He set out from Thebes, and the historian says, "before he had performed one fifth part of his journey the provis-

ions he had with him were totally consumed." They proceeded to eat the beasts that carried the baggage, till these failed. And Herodotus very justly says, that had he let his passions cool, and led his army back, he might have still deserved praise; but instead of this, his infatuation continued, and he proceeded on his march. They were now reduced to such herbs as they could find. But presently they found themselves on the herbless sand of the desert, when they began, as their only subsistence, to draw lots for every tenth man to be served up for food! It is just now that Cambyses became horror struck and gave up the expedition. But what must have been his fate had the Macrobian Ethiopian, been inhuman and ambitious enough to have come forth and fallen on him at this time?

9. After this the Egyptians and their immediate neighbors are subject to Persia; but the history of a large part of Africa is blended in that of Carthage; and after Carthage with the Romans.

CHAP. III.

Were the Carthaginians Ethiopians?

I BEGIN this chapter with the above question, but I do not mean to ask whether the Carthaginians were Africans. They were Africans. But African does not mean the same as Ethiopian. Ethiopia is a name derived from the complexion of the inhabitants, while Africa is a name given to a tract of country inhabited by nations of various complexions.

Josephus, book I. chap. 15, sect. I. gives the origin of the name Africa, from Ophren, Abraham's grandson, by Keturah, his second wife.

To me, it appears, that the Carthaginians cannot, in any proper sense, be considered Ethiopians, and therefore that we have no proper connection with them.

I am fully aware that I am now in contact with a current opinion about which many strong prejudices cling. For this reason, having given my opinion I will just sketch the points on which this opinion is rested, and leave the controversy, if any is started, to be settled by the reading, research and reflection.

1. The Carthaginians were derived from a colony of Tyrians; and hence to connect ourselves with them would conflict with all history, by which we are set off from the Canaanites, and would be taking the very ground of those who burthen us with the supposed curse of that people. The Tyrians were Canaanites. Rollin's Ancient History, book II.

2. The Carthaginian colony was not settled till 869 years B. C. making a difference of twelve or fourteen hundred years between their origin and that of the Ethiopians, in point of time. Robbin's Ancient History, period 5.

3. They leased the land of the natives

but soon broke treaty and held it by force of arms. Rollin's History of Carthage.

4. There is no evidence that they ever amalgamated with the Ethiopians as did the Egyptians.

When Cambyses was making conquests in Africa, the Carthaginians escaped his vengeance through the influence of the Phœnicians or Tyrians, who were a part of the flower of his army. When he had taken Egypt, he planned expeditions against the Ammonians and the Carthaginians, simultaneously with that against the Macrobian Ethiopians; but the Phœnicians informed him that they could not serve against the Carthaginians, giving as a reason for it that they were their descendants. And yet they had served against the adjacent Ethiopians, and sacrificed their lives in an attempt to find the Macrobians at his bidding. Herodotus 3d book, chap. 19. Again, when the Carthaginians were at war in Syracuse, they borrowed forces

from the natives; and being compelled to fly from the island by a plague, they were careful to save as many as possible of their own troops, leaving the others to the rage of the plague, and the mercy of the enemy. This drew forth an assault from the natives which nearly put a period to the existence of Carthage. Rollin's Ancient History.

The same fact appears by recurring to the time when Alexander the Great attacked the Carthaginians. They sent to the Tyrians for assistance, but they being pressed themselves at the same time, could not comply. The Tyrians were likewise in the habit of applying to Carthage for assistance in their troubles.

5. In the long quarrel between the Carthaginians and the Romans, the latter seem to have had no spite against the Ethiopians, while their object seems to have been to exterminate the Carthaginians. It is true, that when they had succeeded in this,

they gained all the conquests they could. But there was no aim to exterminate any of the nations of Africa as in the case of Carthage.

CHAP. IV.

What can be said to account for the degradation of a people once so highly favored?

I PERCEIVE it to have been the absurd influence of their religion which first opened the way for the ruin of that people. Their grand dogma—Polytheism, was a grand error.

Polytheism, is the doctrine of more gods than one. This doctrine invented by Nimrod, began to prevail immediately after his death, as he was worshipped by his posterity. He is the Belus or Baal of sacred history. This doctrine was adopted by the Ethiopians of the second generation, and became firmly incorporated into their theology, their government, and their literature. It does not mean that they were

destitute of the knowledge of a God who is the Creator of all things, but they thought it not robbery to have other gods besides Him. "When they knew God they glorified him not as God."

It is not easy to calculate the evils of this doctrine, as flowing from the systems and the practices which are founded upon it. I shall first make a few remarks, and secondly submit some facts from history intended to illustrate the position that the Ethiopians were ruined by the corrupting influence of their theology.

I. My remarks are, 1st. That when a man has adopted the idea of more gods than one, he has unhinged his mind from every thing like truth. Nor is it possible for him, with this idea, to have a right view of the great God.

2d. No possible degree of veneration for the system or systems which are founded upon this doctrine, will answer the end of that veneration which he owes to, and

which his mind is constituted to give to the God of heaven.

3d. The most rigid practices and observances, under a system of false religion, cannot supply the place of piety to God, or the salutary influence of a right notion of him.

4th. When a man has virtually or in fact lost the knowledge of the only wise God, *he is a heathen.*

5. A heathen with all the education and knowledge beneath the sun, is but a heathen, and only a heathen still, until he comes cordially to this cardinal sentiment, *one only living and true God.* All this was true in the case before us. Our ancestors had sublime systems of religion; but the basis of it was false.

II. *Some facts from history will show that the ancients were degraded by the influence of their theology.*

1. When mankind came forth from the confines of the deluge to spread over the

earth, they had only the tradition of Noah to rely upon, mainly to keep in their minds the right idea of God. This shows what care was needed on the part of parents, to secure the truth to their children, and what a door was opened to wicked men to introduce corruption. Noah taught, in his tradition, the truth of God's existence, government, attributes and works, but how easily could some assuming man who lived in the next age, alter Noah's statement and give men a false idea of these matters. This did take place. "Menes, the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, was worshipped as a god after his death." Rob. An. His. II. Period, 4. sect. *distinguished characters.* This became the custom of all *Africa.*

2. In a few generations this system was carried to the most astonishing extent; so that what is said of the heathen by the Apostle in the first chapter of Romans, became true of them, when they knew God they glorified him not as God.

From deifying their ancestors, they went

to imaginary personages, thence to images, and thence to beasts and to birds, &c.

Here our venerable ancestors provoked God to give them up to the influence of their own folly.

By reference to their mythological system it will be seen that they believed in two principal *deities.*

Osiris, to whom they ascribed the authorship of all good; *Typhon*, to whom also they ascribed the authorship of all evil.

Under each of these, they imagined a multitude of subordinate gods. In thus classifying their gods, they descended from the regions of imagination to that of *birds*, then to that of *beasts*, then to the *leek* and the *onion!*

The inferences from this general fact will sufficiently explain the cause of their degradation.

They had a private and a public system of religion. The private system was confined to the wise men; and it was probably

rational and true, embracing the proper notion of God as contained in the traditions of Noah. But the popular system embraced all the abominations of idolatry. These wise men knew the popular system to be false and ruinous; but in fear of popular indignation they forbore to say so, and hence let the people go to ruin. The tendencies of that popular system have been:

1. To blindness of mind. There was no true God in it, and hence there could be no light.

2. To looseness of morals. A firm belief in God and a knowledge of his law is the only hope of moral purity.

3. Divisions. This is the cause of so many tribes and languages.

4. Animosities. This first induced the tribes to make war upon and to sell each other. This opened the door to the slave trade. This was just the condition in which the slavers of Charles the Fifth found them in the sixteenth century; riven up,

by religious animosity, into petty tribes, and ready to be made dupes of.

There is no reason why we should dodge the truth on this subject. If our ancestors have committed a mistake, we can have no reason for closing our eyes against the fact, but rather let us profit by it. This should furnish us with a motive to reverence and adore that God who must ever be the center and the circle of all true systems of religion and of morals.

In the conflict in which we are now engaged to recover from the sad degradation into which we have been sunk, we shall need eminently to rely upon God. And to do this, we must not be so blind as to believe that any means or system of means, doctrines, efforts, or sentiments are worth any thing, unless that God who wrought for the Hebrews be the life and soul thereof.

CHAP. V.

Slavery on this continent did not originate in the condition of the Africans.

It is very commonly asserted that the Africans have been enslaved because they are fit only for slaves. This would prove to be a very summary and cheap way of setting the south right, provided the above assertion were true, or that we should take it without investigation.

But is it true that the American colonists did not think of instituting slavery until they saw in the condition of the *Africans*, subjects fitted *only* for that state?

Let us hear the voice of facts in the case. Slavery had its origin on this continent, in the Spanish colonies in South America, not with Africans for slaves, but with the aborigines!

Those colonies with their fertile soil and extensive mines of gold and silver, were crown property. And Charles the Fifth, who wore the Spanish crown at that time, could not long withstand the temptation to reduce the aborigines to a state of vassalage, and compel them to work their own soil and dig in their own mines for his benefit. He did thus reduce them to *slavery*. Tytler's Mod. His. part II. sect. 41.

Slavery had its *origin* simultaneously with the conquests of this continent, and was invented by that same plundering, bloody and murderous spirit which characterised those conquests.

In process of time an effort was made to effect the abolition of aboriginal slavery; but Charles the Fifth was so elated with his royal patent of property in man, that when the abolition delegate plead the cause of the aborigines before him, he turned the damper of both ears, indicating that he had not the beginning of a notion to entertain the prayer.

But when the bishop of Chiapa told him that the place of the suffering aborigines could be supplied by a people on the coast of Africa, he entertained the project! Thus the "humane" bishop of Chiapa pointed Charles, who was not at all wanting in disposition to go, to a new field of plunder and blood.

In 1532, three hundred and eight years since, the Africans took the place of the aborigines in the institution of slavery, after it had been dedicated and sealed with blood, twenty or thirty years.

Christopher Columbus carried off some of the aborigines of Cuba to Spain in 1492. Tytler's Mod. His. part II.

Indians were stolen from the coast of New England, and sold at Malaga, 1614. Webster's His. U. S.

This was five years before Africans were known in Virginia, viz. 1619, and twenty-four years before they were brought to New England, viz. 1638.

In 1566, Sir John Hawkins carried Afri-

can slaves to the West Indies; but this was more than fifty years after the aborigines had been enslaved.

And yet, in the face of all this, it is pretended that the *condition* of the Africans first suggested the idea of slavery. And now I shall claim the benefit of two inferences from these facts.

1. The spirit of slavery was mature and fully in action before the Africans were slaves on this continent.

Columbus sounded the news "a new world," and a multitude of adventurers soon flew to make conquests. But to get gain for nought in lands was not sufficient for their purpose. They must have property in human flesh. They must have the aborigines' lands for nought, and in addition to this they must have the aborigines work it for nought. And when this appeared to be not so convenient, they must have a supply of Africans. This spirit broke forth from the old world like a lion from his cage, pinched with hunger; and

see here how desperately it figures about the world to complete its measure of iniquity. First it pounces upon the aborigines, head and heels, and then away to Africa, and there is blood, blood and blood only in its train.

2. Slavery is an institution of the *dark age!* Did the monarchs, patriarchs, and prophets of the south ever think of this? Yes, slavery was bred, born and nurtured in the will of Charles the Fifth of Spain, second only to Nero of Rome; this rebel ghost who was capable of fulminating, and figuring in the darkest of the darkness of the dark age; this great patron of the mother of abomination; this stoutest of the co-workers with the Pope of Rome, in his persecution of Luther and the reformers; *he was also the first patron and patriarch of the institution which is so peculiar at the south.* And who knows, perhaps those chivalrous patriarchs of the south have descended from Charles, and have from him inherited their patents? Have the apolo-

gists for slavery ever thought of this? They are apologizing for the dark age. Have the ministers of the sacred office at the south, who interpret the Bible in support of slavery, ever thought that they are preaching a doctrine first invented by a bishop of the Romish church!?

Let this point then, stand in bold relief to the view of the world. And let it be fairly understood that the American slaveholder and his apologists are patrons of *Rome* and the *dark age!*

Let it be particularly borne in mind by ministers, churches, and deacons at the north, that American slavery, against which we are now contending, is an invention of the dark age. Who goes for it then, must know that he goes for the dark age. Who apologizes for it apologizes for the dark. Can any wonder then, that the spirit of slavery hides God and truth from the understanding, when it comes under the damning and accumulated darkness of the dark age.

CHAP. VI.

Are colored Americans, in point of intellect, inferior to white people?

This is a question of great importance for two reasons; first, the negative is resolutely assumed, and second, on account of the interests involved. If we are *inferior* we should be content to pass into the shade; but if not then we protest against the assumption of our opponents.

My position is *that the notion of inferiority, is not only false but absurd, and therefore ought to be abandoned.*

I shall now present a chain of *facts* to prove the notion of our inferiority to be *false*, and then in a short dissertation I shall endeavor to show it to be *absurd.* In discussing the question, however, it is to be understood,

1. That in opposing this notion I do not intend to controvert the fact that we are inferior in attainment. If this was the question I should have to be content to yield it and go no further.

2. I am not to be understood as denying the fact that some men are of less vigorous habits of study than others.

3. Nor do I assert that the mind, under certain circumstances, does not lose both the habits of, and the taste for enlightened education.

4. Nor yet do I mean to say that the human mind does not greatly vary in talents; talents I mean as distinguished from intellect.

5. I do not know exactly what the advocates of this notion mean by inferiority, but from the popular sense of the word I shall take it for granted that they mean to hold that there is an *inferior order of intellect, and that those of this order are radically and constitutionally inferior, so that no means can change that constitution or raise*

them from that order. I do not know but that many of the advocates will object to this statement; but I presume enough upon their modesty to believe that they do not mean more than I have stated for them; and if they mean less, the question is reduced to so small a compass as to be worth nothing to their purpose. Believing however, that their views are correctly embodied in my statement, I proceed to dispute them.

I. *By facts and incidents from the history of our intellect.*

1. The first general fact is that the arts and sciences had their origin with our ancestors, and from them have flown forth to the world. They gave them to Greece, Greece to Rome, and Rome to others. Tytler's An. His. part I. sect. III.

The question is not whether they gave *perfect* systems, nor whether those systems might not have been discovered by others; but I am only now concerned with the fact of their originating the arts and sciences.

Many will seek to evade this fact by saying that we are not of Egypt; but I have shown from Herodotus that the Egyptians were black people, and from other facts that they are one with the Ethiopians in the great events of history.

2. As to the state of the arts &c. among the native Africans, since the beginning of the slave trade, the reader is referred to such as Clarkson, Park, Wilson, Stedman, Lucas, Durand, Wadstroom, Falconbridge, Holben, Barbet, Dalrymple, Towne, and Borman. These have visited that country since it has began to be drenched with blood by the man stealer, and have seen the arts in a highly cultivated state. These have also given accounts of their rulers, their states, or kingdoms and resources, which cannot be abridged for a work like this.

3. Colored men who have been distinguished themselves in the midst of slavery generally.

1680. Higiemondo.

This man was an able artist in the business of painting. And if the painter's business is to give nature life, this man knew his business, since Sandrart's testimony is that his compositions discovered less of art than nature. He lived in India. And in this same business I may refer to Cuguano, born in Africa. In 1788 he was in the service of Cosway first painter of the Prince of Wales.

1744. Amo.

Antony W. Amo was taken to Europe at an early age, and the Princess of Brunswick took charge of his education. He became skilled in the languages and lectured with great success on Philosophy, received at the University of Wittemberg, the degree of doctor of Philosophy, and published several important treatises, in 1744. He was born in Guinea.

1796. Thomas Fuller.

Thomas Fuller was born in Africa and brought to Virginia as a slave, and though not able to read or write, possessed, according to Dr. Rush and others the talents of correct and rapid calculation. He was once asked how many seconds there are in seventy years, seven months and seven days. He gave the answer correctly and proved it in a minute and a half.

1742—1802. Capitein.

J. E. J. Capitein was brought from Africa at the age of seven. Miss Bascam instructed him in the elements of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic languages. He was a painter by taste. He published at Hague an elegy in Latin verse, on the death of his instructor. From Hague he went to the University of Leyden; on entering which he published a Latin dissertation on the calling of the Gentiles. The slaveholder will probably grant us the

benefit of Capitein's talents, as they may avail themselves of a part, at least, of his principles. He was instigated by the Dutch planters to become the apologist of slavery. He composed a *politico-theological* dissertation to prove for them that slavery is not opposed to Christian freedom.

He took his degree at Leyden, was ordained to the office of the Christian ministry, and returned to his country. In 1802 it was reported in England that he had abjured the Christian faith. But Blumenbach after diligent inquiry contradicts the report.

If those five individuals, being full blood Africans, have sustained a claim to intellectual worth, it will answer my purpose, though I might name many others. And I have been the more confined in this selection, to native Africans, because my opponents of the Jefferson school always pitifully reply to the argument when pressed with cases, by answering that they are either whites, or so intermixed as to have

the benefit of white intellect. *Thus they beg the question.* They either do this, or else immodestly deny that to be intellectual worth, which is admitted to be such by judges as respectable as themselves. Thus Mr. Jefferson says that the Dunciad are divinities compared with the muse of Philis Wheatly! He also reproaches a respectable colored writer of London, of having too much imagination! But has a horse *any* imagination? They also make false issues to avoid the force of these cases. Thus Francis Williams, of the island of Jamaica, born of African parents, was educated at the University of Cambridge, in mathematics and the languages, became a successful teacher and a poet. But they dispose of his case by saying he was so and so to his parents! As if the want of filial piety proved the absence of intellect.

I have only to regret that Mr. Jefferson has so plainly discovered to the world the adverse influence of slavery on his great mind. O that he had reflected for a mo-

ment that his opinions were destined to undergo a rigid scrutiny by an improved state of intellect, assisted by the rising power of an unbiased spirit of benevolence. Had he done this, he would, as a wise man, have modified that ill judged part of his work which relates to the colored people. The most unfortunate thing for the memory of this man is, that he seems to have committed himself against our claims. He makes a labored effort to conclude his proof against us, and reasons throughout as if he intended to claim the case, but his conclusion is a budget of confusion. After taking exception to the case of every educated colored person to which his attention was directed, and alleging that notwithstanding many had been taught the handicraft arts, and that others might have improved by the conversation of their masters and mistresses, he submits it as an *anomaly* that *he* had never known of negro intellect to rise above narration! As if *he* did not know that slavery could produce

anomalies, and as if he expected a man to learn as much from a tea table talk, by those who are studiously guarded in teaching even the Bible, lest too much light be seen, as from the lecture of a professor in his chair.

II. *A dissertation on the main question of inferiority of intellect.*

In this I am to be understood as disputing the idea of our inferiority by a direct effort of my own reasoning powers. My position is, *that intellect is identical in all human beings, and that the contrary opinion is an absurdity.* "No man is any thing more than a man, and no man less than a man." Intellect, is the grand distinguishing point between man and the brute creation. Take intellect from man and he is an animal only. But while this remains firmly in his constitution, as fixed by the God of his nature, man cannot, by any possible process in creation, be converted into a *mere* animal.

However near a brute may approach to

a man in bodily *form and instinct*, yet the grand point cannot be passed. A *mere* animal is not *a man* because *it has no intellect*, and it never can be identical with *man* because it cannot be, by any possible process, supplied with intellect; and man cannot become a *mere* animal because he cannot be divested of intellect. If I am required to say what I intend by intellect, I reply, I mean those powers of the human soul, as distinct from mere instinct, which alone enable man to reason and reflect. Now if the absence of intellectual intelligence in the brute constitutes the difference between man and brute, then intellectual intelligence cannot be predicable of a brute or mere animal in any possible degree. And if the possession of intellectual intelligence be that thing which raises man above the brute or mere animal, this must be the dividing line; nor can we conceive of more than one such line. To talk about another dividing line is to talk about a species be-

tween *man* and brute, which is false and absurd.

If man be thus qualified then by the possession of intellectual intelligence, as distinguished from brute instinct, then man is TOTALLY distinct from every species of mere animal, is he not?

If this be just, then our question has a fair and distinct boundary, below which it is not honorable to descend. He who in discussing the nature of man, can stoop to talk about monkies, apes, and ourang outangs, offers insult to the majesty of his own nature, for which he ought to be ashamed.

The rational consideration to which I appeal for the truth of my position that human intellect is identical, are that it has been *produced*, *improved* and *perfected* in identically the same way.

1. Intellect in all human beings *has been produced in the same way, and therefore it is inconceivable that there should be inferior orders of intellect radically so considered.*

"And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; AND MAN BECAME A LIVING SOUL." Gen. ii. 7. Here is the production of the human soul, and consequently of all that we understand by mind and intellect. To this we may also add the text Acts xvii. 26. "And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth."

This creature of God so produced, was destined to propagate his kind, and it is said of his son that he was "in his own likeness, and after his own image." Hence propagation does not involve power to produce any change in the intellect. But if this be true of the first father, it is no less so of the second, and so on down to the present time. I think it likely I may be reproached for introducing this sentence, and I would not be ready to avail myself of the bad example of my opponents, concerning indelicate paragraphs in *their* writings, but I may be permitted to say, in anticipation,

that they are very copious with their indelicacies.

God is not only the all-glorious author, then, of the black man's mind as well as of that of the white man, but he has produced it in the *same way identically.* That wonderful thing in each called *mind* or *soul*, is nothing less in its nature, than the breath of the Almighty God. The author of their being is the author of ours also, and the father of their spirits is the father of ours also. We sustain those important relations in the same sense and in the same degree, since they were constituted by the same act on his part.

The design of God in that action was to produce intelligence, and at the same time to constitute a relation between himself and that intelligence. That was an action in itself. It was an Almighty action. And the effect of that action corresponded to the design of the Almighty actor.

But I have said the constitution of intelligence was included in that Almighty de-

sign, and hence this was a part of the effect of the action. But I claim it to be inconceivable that different orders of intelligences should have been produced by that action, which was identical in itself, and exist under the constitution which was a part of the effect of that action, which constitution must also be identical in itself. But to talk against evidence is false, and to talk without conception is absurd. I assign both of these to my opponents.

I might have also referred to all the previous acts of the Creator in the works of creation. Every act was specific in itself, had a specific design and was followed by a specific effect; and why should this be *imagined* to be an exception?

2. *The mode of improving intellect is identical, and therefore intellect itself must be identical.*

Intellect is in all cases improved by the organs of sense. These are the great channels of communication through which the mind communicates with external objects,

and receives its whole store of knowledge. The case does not turn upon the extent of our acquaintance with the systems of education, but on the actual effect of any degree of knowledge in any one system.

Take the common school system. Now the inquiry is this, is this an intellectual system? Does it develop intellect and do all who master this system experience this effect? If this is an intellectual system it is an evidence of intellect to master it.

But if it be an evidence of intellect to master this system, then all who master it must have their minds improved in that *identical* way and degree which this system is adapted to. Hence, so far as this system is concerned, all minds, then, are improved by the same method. And they are improved to the same degree. The common school system is the first educational measure by which the intellectual powers are tried. It is called the elementary, or primary system, because it is the foundation of all acquirement. It is the first gate way

to the temple of knowledge. He who cannot lay this stone cannot build. He who does not enter this gate cannot ascend to the interior of the temple. But who lays this stone in a masterly manner, can surely lay another on the top of it, another on the top of that, and so onward, can he not? Whoever sees his way through this gate, may pass through the second and then the third, until he finds the gorgeous interior. But this is the way our intellects are improved. A *man* who did not need process, was never known. Adam, though created an adult, was not without the need of maturity. These men talk, however, as if they had never *had to learn* to say, a, b, c, and bla, and baker. As if they never *had to learn* how many 2 and 3 make, and what the amount of 5 and 5 is when added together! I mean of course those men who claim an order of intellect superior to that of the writer. Let them remember the rock whence they have been hewn and the hole of the pit whence they were digged.

3. *Intellect is improved in the same way, and it is also perfected in the same way.*

I have, in the previous division, called the common school system the first educational measure by which the intellectual powers are tried. Now when we have determined what the whole system of education comprises, we have the total measure by which intellect is tried in point of education. But when any mind has compassed the whole system of education as determined, it has arrived at perfection in point of education. Well, if this be so, then every mind perfected by education, is perfected in the same way and by the same means. But, then, why is it, I ask, that all minds are thus perfected in the same way and by the same means? It is not because education, as a system, is not identical. Education is a system of principles which are ever the same. There are, first principles; and these are *first* whether they be *placed* first, middle, or last. They will be first,

and must be first, because there is no system without them.

The *mode* of arranging those principles may vary, but that *mode* which isolates principles is at once wrong and ruinous. All minds then, are perfected by means of education, not because education is not identical, for although one mind may be perfected more successfully by one *mode* of training than by another, yet when so perfected it is perfected in the *same thing*. Then, what must be the result of a comparison between minds which are thus perfected by means of education? What is the difference? Look at them as they stride from one extreme of the system to the other. What is the proper definition and nature of that power or energy which compasses this system? Can you term it any other in any case but intellect? And can intellect thus shown be any thing but what it is, the grand dividing point between man and brute?

And let us further contemplate minds in

their onward course. Here we behold them stripping along the path trodden only by such high intelligences. We see *judgment maturing*, *memory strengthening*, *and reflection deepening*. But in all this minds are inseparable companions. The judgment of one mind sways another, the memory of one arouses another, and the reflections of one enlightens another. In short mind contacts mind, mind operates on mind, and mind flows with mind. And when they have arrived on yonder highest pivot of the cupola of the temple of knowledge, they are not only in the same element, but they have arrived there by the same route, and inhale the same salubrious air, doubtless with the same exquisite pleasure.

4. *God, the author of the human intellect, recognises fully its identity by administering identically the same moral government over all human beings.* That God does administer identically the same moral government over all human beings, is manifest

from the *identity* and *universality* of his law, the only proper proof of the existence of a moral government, and also from the universality of his works of providence.

First, *the law of God is identical and universal.*

God is the moral governor of the world. The evidence of this is found in the fact that he has given a law for the government of moral agents. This law is given to men and therefore men are moral agents. But what is it that makes man a fit subject of moral law, and which makes it just and right in God to enjoin on him obedience to this law? The answer from heaven and from all quarters of the civilized world in concert, is INTELLIGENCE.

This is the foundation of obligation such as is claimed by moral law. The earth is bound by the law of gravitation, but not by moral law. The brute creatures are bound by the laws of *their* nature, but not by moral law. But why this difference of relation in

point of law. Because man is *intelligent* but the others are not.

Let it be remembered then, that moral law is only applicable to intelligent creatures, and that the *same* law is given to *all* intelligent creatures. But why has God, who is moral Governor, and also the Creator of man done this act? Is it credible to say that he has put a difference between men in point of intellect, whilst he has put none in point of obligation? The supposition is not incredible only, but it is also inadmissible :—absurd.

Then *we* are placed thus heel to heel with you on the broad basis of law, why? Not because we are not capable of sustaining the same obligations. This will not be said. Then it must be because we are capable of the same obligations. God was perfectly aware of what he intended to do, and of what he did do in giving this law to men. Now it was no part of God's intention to do any of his creatures injustice by

giving this law, nor did he do any of them injustice. But this was avoided because he gave a law perfectly consistent with human ability. But there *is* no ability without intellect.

Second. *It is the design of God's works of providence in part to administer and enforce the law in question.* But this law is thus enforced on all to whom it is given. God declares himself to be "a great King." Christ declares him to be "Lord of heaven and earth." David in the 103d Psalm, 19th verse, declares that God hath "prepared his throne in the heavens, and that his kingdom ruleth over all the earth."

But now for what has God prepared his throne in the heavens, and wherein consists his greatness as a king or moral governor? Why doubtless his greatness consists in this, that He is the Creator, Lawgiver, and the executive of all moral beings. "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." Then it is one Lord, one law and one race of moral beings over whom this one Lord

administers this one law. Who then, is the idolater? Who is the blasphemer? Who is the Sabbath breaker? Who is the murderer? Does it matter in the sight of God and in His dispensation of rewards and punishments, whether he is of Africa, Asia, Europe or America? Does God slacken his hand upon the idolatrous colored man? Does the sword of justice fall more lightly upon him for his sin of idolatry than upon the European, or upon the American? Nay his law "is truth," Psalm cxix. 142, and "the Judge of all the earth does right." Gen. xviii. 25.

God cannot be accused of injustice in the providential administration of his law over all nations of people with an equally rigid hand. In this department of his holy work, God is continually working with men, among them, and over them. He works with men by making instruments of them, or so controling their conduct as to make them subserve his purposes. He brings one man from infancy and moulds

him every step till he gets him on the stage. He appears to let another find his way up, and then he just picks him up from among others and makes his use of him. One man comes upon the stage of action and appears to create himself the circumstances by which he is to be made prominent. Another comes forward and finds all of his materials at hand waiting for him. One man dawns into life, and his course seems to lay by the nearest cut through the world. *His* work is soon done and he is gone. If he brings a blessing to his species it is short and sweet. If he brings a curse, it is short and severe. Another man's course seems to stretch from the eastern to the western horizon. If this man brings a curse it is the curse of ages; if he brings a blessing, he is a welcome visiter to generations.

It is even so with nations. One nation is a curse or a blessing to all others. Look at the Babylonians, the Medes, Persians, Macedonians, Egyptians, and the Romans.

The dominions of these and other nations are like so many stages on which such men as Belteshazzar, Cyrus, Alexander, Sesostris, and Cæsar, have been seen figuring.

God works among men. We see the fool dealing foolishly, the proud lifting up the horn on high, as if promotion came from the north, south, east, or west; but too soon God the judge of strife, appears among the actors. The high are brought down, and the low are set on high against him that puffeth at him. I have often been struck with wonder at the expression of the whites that we are *their* "*natural enemies.*" I know full well what they mean, and for this reason I object against the phrase. They refer to that lesson in the history of divine providence, in which we are taught that a man's own measure cup is sometimes returned to his own hand with the same fill, from the same hand into which he placed it. So also with nations. But these people ought to see the wide difference between *our disposition* and the constituted

tendency of their own folly. If God has overturned strong nations for sin, he is doubtless doing the same now, and will do it again. They should look with their eyes and see this, and from it learn to be wise. They ought not to pervert truth, and turn the quarrel more severely against us. God will rule over both them and us. And for this reason, I am not only glad that we have done them no wrong, but I would still be fearfully careful to do them no hurt. *Wrong doers are always the fuel of God's providential wrath.* If colored people do wrong, they suffer as wrong doers, in the same way that all subjects of moral law suffer. This is true not only in the direct administrations of providence, but also in the administration of human law. Has it ever been known that a murderer or a thief escaped the hand of justice only because he was a colored man? No. But all this is so, and just as it ought to be because he is adjudged in law intelligent. But why put him under the same law, and thus

punish him with the same hand, if he is not *equally* intelligent with the white man? If we are not *equally* intelligent, then, we must, in self defence, enter a plea against the strictness of all moral law, human and divine! It should be known, that if there is any difference put between the white and colored man in point of law, under this government, it is that laws for the colored man are more severe.

All the tact and skill of which our general government is capable, has been brought to bear upon the slave question. And the records of legislation from Maine to Louisiana, will show a balance of severity against us. So that here the conduct of our opponents turns against their theory.

If the limits of this work would allow, the writer is of the opinion that he could bring to his position a forcible argument from the total scope of Christianity as a system, whose grand centre is "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, through all, and in

you all. But to every one is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ." Ephes. iv. 7. What! To the *colored* saint too, Paul? How you do talk against Americans!

CHAP. VII.

American prejudice against color examined, its nature, its tendency and its cure.

I. Its nature. What is it? In order to avoid saying what has already been well said by many, I shall not make an argument of the fact that it is hating the image of God, nor of that, it is founded in a will to tread down the weak and poor. But pass on and say,

1. *It is supreme selfishness.* It seeks no glory for God, nor good for man, but is pointedly opposed to both. To this as including that, and to that as inseparable from this. And if this does not give it the character of selfishness, then selfishness *is yet without proper definition.*

If in any act under the sun a man shows

himself to be selfish, it is in that of despising his fellow worm of the dust.

Selfishness is seen in two ways; it may consist simply in *neglecting* the interest of our fellow beings while we are miserly attached to our own. And again, it consists in despising, suppressing, and wickedly opposing the interests of others. This last is capping the climax. It is the thing supremely. But all this, yes all of it I charge on American prejudice against color.

If God, therefore, is to be glorified in the fulfilment of that law by which he enforces upon man a regard to the interests of his fellow man, there is no glory for God in this prejudice. If that law condemns selfishness, it condemns this prejudice.

2. It is emphatically *ill will.* Let no man be deceived here. Many who are guilty of this prejudice, may be ignorant of its true nature, and so may many who see its operations. But let the world be assured that it is ill will. Mere aversion does not pursue a man like "an old shadow." It

is ill will that does it. Mere aversion does not abuse and insult a man in the public street, in the stage, in the rail car, in the steam boat, and in the church. It is ill will that does this. Mere aversion would be satisfied to let the victim pass unmolested, but ill will is always known by its perseverance in seeking the injury of its victim. Ill will leaves no place for its victim to be at peace. And so with this prejudice. Ill will is aggressive, and so is this prejudice. If any who are filled with this prejudice should deny this, it only proves that they do not know what is in their hearts.

The history of Cain shows that it is not so difficult a matter for a man to fill his heart with ill will to his fellow man, and thence to pursue him even to blood itself. If they had a better knowledge of the depravity of human nature, and were more humbly affected in view of that part of it which they have inherited, they would not trifle with their guilt by pretending that their hearts are only filled with aversion to so

and so, and so forth, when their fruit is the fruit of *ill will.*

II. *Its tendency.* 1st. Insubordination, bloodshed, and murder, are its legitimate aim. It needs only to be resisted in a rightful degree even, and it can soon show that neither law nor human blood are sacred in its way. If any man disputes this, I appeal to the annals of the bloody riots of days gone by not far. What *kind* of a spirit was that which beseiged our houses with brickbats, stones, and deadly weapons, broke up the Canterbury school, put a rope around Garrison's neck, burnt Pennsylvania Hall, and shot Lovejoy? Was there no insubordination, no bloodshed nor murder in all this? And what if that spirit should have been moderately resisted in all this? Why no one can even guess at the extent to which it tended.

2d. It tends to *blindness of mind.* Who can be blinder than he who abuses all relation and obligation, and argues that he is doing no wrong? And let any man say

whether this prejudice against which I am now handling my pen, does regard the sacred relations and obligations of moral agents.

3d. It establishes in the whites a character for *injustice*. Injustice is the subversion of rights. It is prejudice itself to the rights of those on whom it is brought to bear. This prejudice, however, is not a single act of injustice, but a series of acts. Hence, we have only to see that a minister, a judge, a teacher, or a church is prejudiced against our interests, and we are hopeless for justice from such.

4th. Dishonesty is a fruit of prejudice. When I say this prejudice tends to dishonesty, I intend that form of dishonesty by which a man uses his neighbor's dues by stealth of fraud. Now what is that which induces those who are actuated by this prejudice, to use colored people at *any time* and in *any way* when the whole can be turned to their own account? Is it not dishonesty? If a colored man has skill,

talents, property, or any thing conducive to their interests, and they can get the benefit of it, without acknowledging him to be a man, they will take it. And this is not done by accident, but they are studiously dishonest.

The writer was once while teaching a colored school, earnestly solicited to go into a white family evenings, and give their children lessons. But, O! it would not do to let this be known, nor for those children to go to his school.

5th. *Hypocrisy is copiously gendered by this prejudice.* When those who are actuated by this prejudice wish to get a good colored coachman, or waiter, or cook, they can completely change the color of their own faces. They like colored people best. They do not like white servants, and as for the poor Irish, O! they can't "bear them about the house." Now what do they mean by all this? The intention is deep. It is hypocritical; and we can easily see it.

6th. *Brutish and uncivil manners*, are

the fruit of this prejudice. It is pretended that those who crow, and whine, and bellow about the streets after colored people, are neither numerous nor respectable; but we are better informed on the subject. Many of their ladies are addicted to very silly behavior. On the public streets they act like perfect mimic mistresses. I have seen them prance and scud for the sake of walking *before* a colored person on the side walk! I have seen them poise their parasol, with evident intention to rake my hat in passing!

7th. The tendency of this prejudice is to *sacraligion:* abuse of sacred things. Are not those sacrilegious who carry this mean feeling into the house of God? Who has authorized the division of the church of God into *white* and *black* divisions?

Not long since, I stepped into the conference room of a church on Main street in this city, while the bell was ringing for prayer meeting, thinking I should like to know whether they had any prospect of a

revival. But I soon found that *something was reviving*, whether it was religion or not, I did not stop to see. I saw nestling and sneering, and left.*

* I have been in the habit of thinking very reserved and indifferently on this whole subject. I do not mean to say, that I have ever been reconciled to the negro pew. But I have managed so as to accommodate myself without much difficulty. I have, for a number of years, on going into a white church, followed the practice of standing in some one of the aisles, rather than take the negro pew, or to contend for one to which I am unwelcome. But I find that I have, as a minister of the gospel, a responsibility in the matter. I must think of it, and feel more directly than I have. And the more I do think of it the more my soul sickens.

I have turned aside several times into the South Baptist church in this city, to hear Mr. Knapp, since he has been here. The first time I went the church was only moderately full, and as usual I stood in the aisle. The second time the church was overflowing. A Mr. S. met me at the door and gave me a polite introduction to a seat, said by him to be "one of the best." As the house was so full I took the seat, but saw the design. It *is* "one of the best seats," but the particular design was that it should be

8th. The tendency of this prejudice is to *blasphemy*. If blasphemy consists in indignity offered to God, I am at a loss to

the first inside the door, and consequently, the farthest off from the preacher. Hence for the sake of the seat itself it was good, even "one of the best." But for the design it was bad.

I went again on Friday evening last, Jan. 8th. A Mr. F. met me and seated me in the second seat from the door. All this passed on. The preacher took his text, Romans ii. 4. "The riches of his goodness." A part of the first clause of the verse. His object was to prove and illustrate *the goodness of God.*

He began by saying that "the goodness of God is too much overlooked by us all," &c. The preacher produced a number of considerations to prove his subject, as the fact that God created the human soul; has constituted man for exquisite enjoyment, and has made ample provision for his enjoyment; has given a law to guard his rights; He has interposed the strongest barriers to sin; He has given His Son, &c. I do not attempt to give the exact number of his proofs, nor his own order and wording. I admired Mr. Knapp more on account of his strong positions and stout eloquence, than for his arrangement of matter. I enjoyed the sermon much, and

conceive who does this more emphatically than those who are actuated by this foul prejudice. Who is a blasphemer if not he

the reason I did not fully enjoy it, was on account of the scene which I shall now relate. When I took my seat there was but one other person in the slip, which left room for three other persons. There were, I believe, two persons in the slip behind me, which left room in the two slips for six persons. Presently there were some three or four persons who wanted seats. Instead of following the same plan that had been followed from the pulpit down to us, that is, of first filling up the seats in the slips, and then put a loose bench in the aisle, the loose bench was brought before these seats were full, and we were blocked up when there were six vacant seats in the two slips. This would not have cut so deep, but presently again in came two colored men, on the opposite side of the house. These were handed across the house and had to climb over the shoulders of those who sat on the loose bench, over the bench, over the top of slip doors! Now some one will ask "what of all that? The house was crowded. I sat on a loose seat in the aisle." I answer again, the whole thing is worth just nothing. But the *design*. If a man *designs* to murder me, he *is* a murderer

who says that God is the author of American slavery? Who is a blasphemer but he who wrests the holy word of the Holy God from its proper meaning, and makes it to sanction iniquity? Woe unto him who does not only rebel against God, but tries to make it appear, by false arguments, that God stands *with* him instead of *against* him in his sin.

9th. *This prejudice hates the truth.* And this is not all, but it hates to be pushed

though I may come off with my life. In view of this case I say:

1. There is no hope of getting right in the church so long as protracted meetings and revivals are managed strictly on the man-hating principle. Those who get religion under such management, will get prejudice as a part of their religion.

2. I have serious scruples whether I do not sin in fellowshiping ministers and churches who tolerate these measures in the solemn season of a revival.

3. I do not expect any one but myself to be responsible for what I say.

4. If people wish to expose their own want of sense, we are not willing to have them; we have no eyes to see it.

with the truth. And still more it hates those who dare to push it with the truth. It is itself opposition to the truth. It is opposed to truth religiously, morally, and politically, nor will hear truth. And hence, the more you show the truth the more objectionable and obnoxious you are. The more you exhibit the truth the more hateful you are. But why is this if not that this prejudice hates the truth and those who tell it? Why are abolitionists hated and abused? For telling the truth. They are even accounted *enemies* because they tell the nation it is in danger of the judgments of God for the sin of oppression.

10th. *Finally, it is carrying the total nation down to a state of refined heathenism.* If I am asked to say what I mean by this, I answer, I mean that the fear of the living God is not before the eyes of this nation in all these things. Now who is a heathen but him who acts as if the God of heaven did not hear, see, and govern him? But this is sadly true of those who are ac-

tuated by this prejudice. There is not only a heathenlike disregard to the relation which God has established between man and man, but this disregard is acted out just as bravely, and as silly as if God could not discern it, or rather as if there was no God to discern it. A nation covered with Egypt's darkness could do nothing more. "He that hateth his brother is in darkness."

III. *By what means then can this monomania be cured?* What will remove this disease so fatally seated on the vitals of the nation? That a cure is possible we sincerely believe; that it is desirable, none will deny, I hope. My suggestions are:

1st. That the truths of the Bible must be brought to bear more directly upon it. It is true we shall only be hated and vilified for this, but if we die by the truth of the Bible we die right. Does the Bible justify men in hatred and injustice? It condemns them for it. He that "hateth his brother is a murderer."

2d. *These truths must be aimed at the*

consciences of men haters, and especially of men hating Christians. And what is the state of the consciences of those dear Christians who sit at the table of Christ hating their brethren? Is their conscience sound, and square with the truth of God, which declares this table to be a feast of *love* to all *his?* And tell me, ye that love the Lord, how will they give account to the God of love for frustrating his grace? Let the truth of the Bible, then, deeply probe, and pierce their consciences, that they may be set right, and saved from condemnation.

3d. *Colored people must bear and forbear.* We have borne and forborne much, and whether we have done this with good will, God will show. The writer can only say for his own heart, I have come in contact with prejudice almost at every step, and God is my record, that I regard the haters of my people only with pity. I am sorry that they are so silly before God and the enlightened world, and that they can act as if there was no umpire of strife, no

judge of right and wrong but themselves. I owe them nothing but good will. If I could deliver them from their blindness and folly and turn their hatred into love, I would do so, but not a hair would I rend from their head, though justice to my cause should slumber till the great day of God Almighty.

4th. *Colored Christians, let it be seen that they have nothing to hate in you but good will and piety.* Let us not suffer as evil doers. There is a difference between the *old* and the *new* creation of God. Concerning the old he says thou shalt love this "thy neighbor as thyself," but he throws his arms about the *new* and charges his enemies and theirs saying "touch not mine anointed, do my chosen no hurt." "If God be for us who can be against us?" Then let us so exemplify our holy master, that when they set themselves for strife, so far from finding any thing in us as fuel for their hatred, like the prince of this world when he assaulted Christ, they may find

nothing, and so may be influenced to adopt other feelings.

5th. *Let our love and pity for them be manifested in our constant prayer for their good.* "Pray for them which despitefully use you." If they curse let us bless, bless and curse not. And while they are doing despite if we can at the throne engage a blessing for them, how much better will be our work for them than theirs for us. I have been told by a pious slave from Annapolis, Maryland, that while the legislature were discussing in an evening session, an oppressive law which was afterwards passed against colored people in that state, he and others held a prayer meeting in a grove, the object of which was to supplicate the blessing of God upon those men in power. How excellent. It is a pattern. It is an excellent one. What was Christ doing for men when they were murdering him?

6th. *I have not overlooked the fact that slavery is the fountain of this bitter stream.*

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The prejudice of which I have been speaking would not exist but for this corrupt fountain. Here is the curse of curses:—

O! slavery, slavery, I know thy dose,
And thy curse I ever, ever loathe:
Tis thee, foul monster of woe,
That spreads over my people curse on curse;
I would thou wert now uprooted,
That the last remains of thee were torn
From out this soil whence blessings might flow
To every inhabitant without a curse;
But thou art a curse where blessings are,
Thou art a curse where blessings were,
Thou art a spoiler of blessings here,
Thou art the destruction of souls so dear,
O! slavery, slavery I know thy dose.

CHAP. VIII.

Is there any difficulty in accounting for our complexion?

Much has been said on this subject that may be called nonsense. The reasoning, or rather guessing, has been a tissue of foolery.

The subject has been first mystified and then declared to be difficult; when in fact, there is no more difficulty than what arises from overlooking the power of second *causes.*

In all discussions of this nature, the nearer we find the cause and effect to lay together, the more direct and forcible will be our conclusion.

Hence, when we find the cause and effect lay close together, they should not be forced asunder. If so the result is that we

shall miss our conclusion, or else subject ourselves to needless labor. This complexion is an effect which must have had an adequate cause. This no one disputes. But the question is, have second causes been adequate to this effect?

Take complexion as it exists in its variety, as an effect; and reason from it back in search of the cause or causes, and it is believed that second causes have produced it.

A writer named Hanneman made the blasphemous assertion that this complexion has proceeded from the curse pronounced by Noah upon Ham, as he says.

From this opposing arguments have not only been brought by a host of writers, such as Pecklin, Ruysch, Albinus, Littee, Santarini, Winslow, Mitchil, Camper, Zimmerman, Meekel; but anatomists have diven with their fists full of sharp instruments, into the recesses of the human frame to search for the fountain of this curious stream.

Meekel with some sharp instrument found his way into the brain of some few colored persons, and happening, no doubt, to look with a jaundiced eye, or a diseased imagination, was persuaded that the blackness of the skin proceeded from the color of the brain. But he is opposed in this decision by Walter, Bonn, Samering, Dr. Gall, and others who assert that the black man's brain is the same color of the white man's.

Barrere and Winslow have laid the bed of this fountain still deeper in the system; but they are opposed by Samering, who asserts the same parts of the system to be of a different color from what they pretend to discover.

The question then, occurs, *is it reasonable to suppose that climate and necessary causes have produced this effect?* I take the affirmative without hesitation; and I am strong when I find that I have on my side such men as Buffon, Camper, Bonn,

Zimmerman, Blumenbach, Samering, and Imlay. And besides all, common sense.

It is a saying of the Rev. Dr. Taylor, professor of didactic theology in Yale College, that he "would go down Niagara with common sense." Taking his proper meaning, I go with him. Common sense is so good a thing that it never would carry any man down that watery precipice. If he went he would have to go without it. I would far sooner be a black man with common sense, than a white man with a head full of nonsense.

Skin is a poor passport to true greatness. Dr. Rush has supposed that the color of the skin has been caused by a disease which has become hereditary. He refers to the experiment of Beddoes, by which he nearly whitened the hand of a colored man, by immersing it in *oxygenated muriatic acid.* I should be very slow to break temper with such a man as Dr. Rush, but this must be regarded as a far fetch. I have known the hands and sundry other parts

of colored persons' bodies to turn nearly white, without such a learned process.

The learned and humane Stanhope Smith has proven by accumulated facts, the influence of climate on the complexion and figure: explains why the Africans on the Western coast, under the torrid zone, are more black than those on the eastern.

The general fact is established, that in those parts of Africa between the tropics, not only men but beasts and birds also, are black or darkish, and vary with the latitude, till coming near the frozen seas, bears and other animals are white.

We have quite a curious calculation in the history of Vermont, by S. Williams, 1794. From approximative data, he infers that intermarriage with the whites would change this complexion in five generations, or one hundred and twenty-six years, but by climate without intermarriage, four thousand years. I hope it will not be thought too humorous to say, I am sorry that while Mr. Williams was in the way of calcula-

ting, he did not give us a guess concerning the prospect of the whites to change *our* complexion to *theirs* on the supposition that *they* had met *us* in Africa.

1. The Portuguese who planted themselves on the coast of Africa, a few centuries ago, have been succeeded by descendants blacker than the Africans.

2. A stronger case still is to be found in the fact that the descendants of a colony of Jews, originally from Judea to the coast of Africa, are black.

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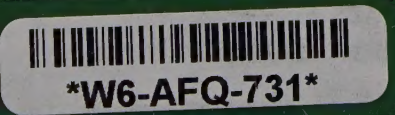
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